1: Lhote--107 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Chapter 6

Animal Husbandry

233 If we study mainly the tribes which live in the Sudan, in a country which lends itself perfectly to animal husbandry, we observe that the Tuareg are experienced herders, capable of making their herds prosper. The scarcity of pastures in the Sahara has evidently put animal husbandry in the background among the northern Tuareg, but it was certainly not always that way. The example that we have before us in the Sudan allows us to class all the Tuareg among the great herders.

[184]

Animal husbandry is at the very foundation of their living conditions. It is probably the source of their migrations and their swarming over the Sahara and the Sudan. On these grounds the Tuareg, like all shepherds, may be reproached for their thieving and destructive bent, the effect of which is often felt by urban groups and always by the vegetation which they shamelessly destroy. With these reservations, however, they have brought with them some elements of cultural civilization which have played a considerable role both in the Sahara and the Sudan.

[167]

The Ihaggaren are forced to count on the income from their herds and could not live without them. That is why they devote a large part of their work to animal husbandry, despite the difficulties imposed on them by caring for the animals.

This animal husbandry, moreover, is peculiar to the Saharian regions and is totally different from that of the Sudanese Tuareg. The Sudanese own cattle, great quantities of sheep, and horses; the Sahara could not support such flocks.

[184]

The Ahaggar Tuareg raise camels, goats, sheep, and asses.

174 **The camel.** -- We have seen previously what we must think about the introduction of the camel into the Sahara. Whether it was

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tayahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wells *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 198ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

The Tuareg

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of Western Sahara and the northern parts of the Western Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° Northern Latitude and between 5° Western Longitude and 10° Eastern Longitude. 101 131

The Tuareg fall into several main groups which correspond largely to political units. These groups are the following:—

I. *Kel Ajjer*, in the mountains named Tasilé-n-Ajjer in the eastern part of the Algerian Sahara and in adjacent parts of Libya. Northwards they reach Tripolitania and the great sandy desert Erg Oriental around Radames.

II. *Kel Ahaggar*, in the Ahaggar Mountains, in the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir, and Téfedest – and in adjacent parts of the lowland. Certain tribes of the Ahaggar group live in the southern plains of Tamesna between the mountain massifs of Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas and Ayr, particularly around I-n-abanɾerit and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

III. *Kel Adɾaɾ*, in the mountains of Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas south-west of Ahaggar.

IV. *Kel Ayr*, in the mountain massif of Ayr and in the plains to the west and south. The Tuareg of Ayr form several semi-independent units of which the more important are the *Kel Ewey*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan*.

V. *Kel Geres*, south of the Kel Ayr in the plains around Tessawa. Late in summer at the end of the rains they move up to Southern Ayr around the watering places of Tegidda-n-edrar, Tegidda-n-tagayt, and Tafadek.

VI. *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, that is the eastern *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Tawa. At the end of the rains they move northwards to the region of Ingal which is within the country of the Ayr Tuareg.

VII. *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*, that is the western *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Meneka and along the Niger.

VIII. *Kel Tademaket* comprising several tribes and groups of tribes around Timbuktu and Lac Faguibine. Important among these Tuareg are the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The *Tademaket* Tuareg from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*.

The two former groups, the *Kel Ajjer* and the *Kel Ahaggar*, are frequently referred to by the generic term of *Northern Tuareg*, while the six latter groups living on the outskirts of the true desert and in the Sudanese savannah are known as *Southern Tuareg*. In addition to these groups there are certain small Tuareg groups which in recent times have left their original homeland. After the French penetra- 101 167

[p. 7]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[649] where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
162 Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

Kel Ahaggar	4.254
Kel Ajjer	1.508
Kel Adrar	4.223
Kel Ayr & Kel Geres	27.765
Iwllemmeden	161.160
Tengerregif	40.000

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaq* in the two northern groups, *tamacheq* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraq* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éheŋen*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking Harratin (Izeggaren) of Tidikelt.

Fig. 169a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awlen*, pl. *iwlan*).
a. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).
b. Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tebbi* tribe. Dimension: 0.062×0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).
c. Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tebbi* tribe. Dimension: 0.058×0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures.

TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution.

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chaamba* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Bu Hammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco. These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Bu Hammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan